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in popular outline. Professor Frothingham's thesis is, that what is lost to us at Rome in consequence of later changes, may be recovered in all essentials by a careful study of the towns of Italy and Dalmatia, whether they represent influences which affected the development of Roman art, or were themselves colonies, aping in every possible way the public buildings of the capital. Interest naturally centers around the age of Augustus, of which—now that the Pantheon has been relegated to the time of Hadrian—Rome retains so few monuments in any tolerable state of preservation. Professor Frothingham is gifted—sometimes suspiciously so—in divining that this arch or that theater is of the Augustan age, or even earlier. And here many will at once take issue with the conclusions of one who is guided so often by the stylistic sense, where tangible evidence is lacking. Yet it is no doubt true that outside of Rome there may be found more remains from the hand of the first emperor than is generally supposed, though certainty is unattainable. An example of Professor Frothingham's method may be seen in his treatment of the Porta dei Borsari, at Verona (p. 255). He would claim for Augustus the twin gateways, with their engaged columns and their entablatures and pediments, conceding the two upper stories to Gallienus, who probably destroyed the original inscription, to make way for his own none too veracious epigraphy. Probably every Beaux Arts student who has sketched the arch, has made the same conjecture.

Besides his penchant for the Augustan and the pre-Augustan, the author has a theory, much in evidence in this book, to account for the presence of so many so-called triumphal arches at Roman colonies. When a colony was founded, he believes, it was customary to plant a monumental arch "across the main approach, on the sacred boundary line or *pomerium*" (216). These "colony arches" are surprisingly ubiquitous, and the fact that some of them are inscribed with the names of private citizens, so that they have always been regarded as family monuments, does not appear to Professor Frothingham an insuperable obstacle. He convinces himself that the Sergii at Pola, the Iulii at S. Remy, the Campani at Aix-les-Bains, the Gavii at Verona, were military leaders, to whom unusual influence in the government of the new-fledged colony was conceded by Julius Caesar or Augustus (253). The question is one of great interest, of course, and some day clearer evidence, it is hoped, will be forthcoming.

The book is readable, and will no doubt serve its purpose. One could wish that the fatality which attends such works at their birth had spared us a few of the many small errors and some of the larger. Of the former a few examples follow: On p. 143 the date of Pyrrhus's invasion is given as 240; on p.

148, 210 should be 310; on pp. 274, 278, Vienna is said to have been Vindobonum (!); on p. 301, top, there is a misplaced sentence; on pp. 47, 196, there are several small slips in citing inscriptions. The plate facing page 197 is labelled Arpinum, when Aquinum is meant; the same error is twice repeated in the list of illustrations, where in general the proofreader must have taken a long nap. More serious is a grotesque mistranslation on p. 245 fin., putting into the mouth of Tacitus a remark about Verona, which one does not find in the original. On p. 318 the mausoleum of Diocletian at Spalato is "the only well preserved imperial tomb in existence". Galla Placidia is evidently forgotten—also the author's "discovery" of the tomb of Marcus Aurelius. Altogether unaccountable is the repetition on p. 315 of the long exploded statements in regard to the arcaded colonnades of Spalato: "the earliest use of lines of free-standing arcades resting on columns. For the first time the old straight architrave is discarded". Without belittling the immense influence of Spalato on later architecture, one must confront the enthusiasm of Freeman and Frothingham with the Casa dell' abbondanza at Pompeii, where one side of a peristyle shows six arches with stuccoed voussoirs resting upon columns. Archivolts are lacking, but the principle is the same as at Spalato. And Professor Mau once assured the reviewer that further evidence of the same kind is available in one or two other houses at Pompeii.

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CRETAN REPRODUCTIONS¹

In the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for May, 1920, there is an article on the collection of Cretan Reproductions owned by the Museum. The major part of the article is here reproduced (the paper is illustrated by four excellent cuts).

In the February number of the Bulletin for 1908 was published an account of our collection representing Greek prehistoric art, now exhibited in Gallery 20. This collection, from force of circumstances, consists mostly of reproductions, because, as is well known, the Cretan authorities will not permit the export of any important work from their island. But the splendid facsimiles made by E. Gilliéron and H. Bagge are of sufficient accuracy to give us a vivid idea of the originals. In the last two years considerable additions have been made to this collection, which show still further the wonderful versatility of the early Cretan artists, and, moreover,

¹ At the meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States held at New York in April last Dr. Edward Robinson, Assistant Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, spoke most interestingly of what the Museum is doing or planning to do along lines of interest to students of the Classics. The address was delivered without notes and no record of it was made. In lieu of such a record we shall print from time to time, as we have done heretofore, in whole or in part, articles published in the Bulletin of the Museum. For such articles in Volume 3 see pages 31, 53-54, 63, 214-215, 222-223. We had made extensive preparations to indicate to our readers what they may find in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts of profit to them but it seemed better to defer the carrying out of this plan till the Museum was definitely settled in its new home.

give us some interesting information with regard to the social and religious customs of their time.

Most important among these is a facsimile of the famous sarcophagus from Hagia Triada, which is one of the greatest monuments of Cretan art that have been discovered. Unlike the other sarcophagi found in Crete it is not of clay, but of stone. The dimensions are 4 ft. 4 in. long, 1 ft. 6 in. wide, 2 ft. 8 in. deep, the body being placed inside in a contracted position according to the usual custom. It is decorated on its four sides with paintings which were not executed directly on the stone, but on a layer of stucco, and are, therefore, in every respect like fresco paintings. The scenes have been identified as representing funerary rites, and are, therefore, closely connected with one another (Cf. R. Paribeni, *Il Sarcophago dipinto di Hagia Triada in Monumenti antichi XIX*, 1908, p. 8 ff.). Each of the long sides is divided into three parts by different colored backgrounds. On the side which is better preserved we see on the extreme right a figure closely swathed standing erect before the façade of a building. This has been interpreted as the figure of the dead standing before his tomb. By his side are a sacred tree and a sort of stepped platform which may have served for the deposit of offerings. The center of the scene is occupied by three offering-bearers; the first carries a ship, a symbol probably of the voyage of the dead; the other two have, each, a calf represented in full gallop, a curious instance of the artist's copying a well-known type without considering the inappropriateness of it in this case. On the left another rite is taking place: a woman is pouring a libation from a pail into a large vase standing between two posts; the latter are surmounted by double axes of the familiar type, on which sacred birds (ravens?) are perched. These birds, according to Dr. A. J. Evans, represent the descent of the divine spirits into the objects of worship, indicating that the invocations have met with favor. Behind follow a woman carrying two pails on a pole and a man playing the lyre.

The subject on the other side of the sarcophagus has also reference to some ritual. On the extreme right is an altar on which are placed "horns of consecration", which we know played an important part in Minoan religion. Beside the altar are an olive tree and a post, surmounted by double axes with a sacred bird, like those on the other side. In front of these is an offering table, on which is placed a vase; a woman stands before it with both arms extended, as if invoking the deity. Near by are a jug and a basket of fruit. In the center is a dead bull stretched on a table, and decorated with red ribbons; blood flows from its throat into a receptacle below. Under the table two deer await their turn to be sacrificed. The rest of the scene is taken up by a procession of five women, preceded by a long-haired flute-player. Of the women only the lower parts are preserved.

The two ends of the sarcophagus are also decorated; on one is represented a two-horse chariot driven by two women, on the other, a chariot drawn by two griffins and driven by a woman who has beside her a swathed figure. Mr. Paribeni interprets the latter as the figure of the dead, and the bird which is perched on the wing of one of the griffins as his soul.

The chief interest of this sarcophagus lies in the data that it furnishes with regard to Minoan ritual. Aegean religion presents many problems, which can-

not yet be settled. It is difficult enough to reconstruct an ancient civilization merely from such remains as happen to have survived; but to understand the religion of people who lived over 3,000 years ago without the help of literary testimony is well-nigh impossible. From the evidence that we can deduce from the finds consisting either of scenes of ancient worship, like that on our sarcophagus, or of objects of religious significance found in shrines, it is certain that the chief divinity was a great nature goddess. Of a male divinity there is little evidence, and, if he existed at all, he occupied quite a secondary position. Minoan worship seems to have consisted largely in the adoration of religious symbols, which were either natural objects, such as stones and trees, or artificial, such as pillars, cones, the double ax, the horns of consecration, and perhaps the cross. The bull was the chief animal in Crete, and was used both for sacrifice and for the hunt.

Besides its religious significance, the Hagia Triada sarcophagus furnishes us with valuable information on other points. The costumes worn by the different figures are interesting. The offering-bearers have a sort of apron of peculiar shape suggestive of a hide; the priestesses wear similar "aprons", as well as tight-fitting bodices, like those worn by the famous snake goddesses, but not open in front; the other people have long robes with embroidered bands. There are striking similarities between the scenes on this sarcophagus and Egyptian monuments. The representation of the dead before his tomb, the presence of the sacred tree, the introduction of a ship as a votive offering, the sacrifice of a bull, and the manner of collecting its blood, the device of painting the skin of men a deep brown and that of the women white, have all analogies in Egyptian art. But though these parallels show that the influence of Egypt was strong during this period, the paintings are essentially Cretan in their chief characteristics. The types of the men and women with their irregular, distinctly European features, their slender waists, and erect bearing; the costumes; the religious symbols; are all thoroughly Minoan, as is also the elaborate ornamentation of rosettes and spirals which frame the frescoes and decorate the feet of the sarcophagus. The colors employed (blue, red, yellow, and green) are of the vivid shades popular among Cretan artists. The workmanship is not very careful and should be dated at the end of the late Minoan II or the beginning of the Late Minoan III period, that is, about 1450 B. C.

Our collection of copies of frescoes from the walls of the Palace of Knossos has been increased by several important examples. The Cup-bearer, perhaps the best known of Cretan frescoes, represents a youth advancing slowly in a dignified posture, carrying with both hands a long, pointed vessel of a shape often found in excavations in Crete. Traces of another figure show that this is only one of a procession of youths. He is nude, except for a loin-cloth decorated with a four-petal design. He also wears bracelets on the upper arm and one with a signet on the left wrist. There are certain faults in the drawing, such as the eye drawn in full front and the outline of the chest; but the impression of the whole is one of great dignity and distinction. The period is that of the great Palace period, i. e. Late Minoan II (about 1500-1350).

Two frescoes, each representing a lady from Knossos, are interesting records both for the type

of the faces and the costumes during this same period. We are surprised, as so often in Cretan work, at the modernity of these women with piquant faces, elaborate coiffures, and clothes which are much more like our present fashions than like those worn in Greece during the classical period. Of great interest also are two miniature frescoes representing assemblies of men and women around a shrine and dancing under trees. The fresco of the flying fish from Phylakopi in Melos is painted in a somewhat freer style and shows great observation of nature. It belongs to the Late Minoan I period (about 1600-1500), and is now generally regarded as an importation from Crete or a work executed under the direct influence of Cretan art.

An interesting collection of facsimiles of small stone vases, found by Mr. R. Seager in 1907 and 1908 in the islands of Psira and Mochlos, gives us some idea of the work of Minoan stone cutters. The vases are of various shapes and sizes and are made of beautifully veined marbles, breccia, steatite, etc. The workmanship is very finished and points to a highly developed art. The tombs in which they were found are dated as far back as the Early Minoan III period, that is, before 2200 B. C.

It will be noticed that the dates given to the different Minoan periods in this article differ from those given in the Bulletin in February, 1908. Cretan excavators are now favoring the minimum system of Egyptian chronology, and, as Cretan chronology is based on that of Egypt, they have had to change considerably the dates of their own finds. As a large proportion of our reproductions are from objects found at Knossos by Dr. A. J. Evans, we had adopted his system of chronology in 1908, and are now changing our dating according to his revised scheme¹.

Early Minoan—before 2200 B. C.

Middle Minoan I—about 2200-2000 B. C.

Middle Minoan II—about 2000-1850 B. C.

Middle Minoan III—about 1850-1600 B. C.

Late Minoan I—about 1600-1500 B. C.

Late Minoan II—about 1500-1350 B. C.

Late Minoan III—about 1350 B. C.

G. M. A. R.

GREEK HISTORICAL WRITING

Sometime ago the Clarendon Press (Oxford) published a pamphlet entitled *Greek Historical Writing* and *Apollo*, containing two lectures delivered before the University of Oxford by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (translated by Gilbert Murray). Both lectures deserve careful reading. We quote a part of the lecture on Greek Historical Writing:

It seems a contradiction that a nation which was the first on the earth to produce an historian, the nation of Herodotus and Thucydides, never attained to a science of history; but that is explained by the history of this people, its heroic greatness and its tragic fate. In the same century in which Buddha, among the unhistoried Indians, founded religion upon a rejection of life: in which the Jews, through the loss of their national state, were reduced to founding a church as a substitute, and in demanding universal validity for their national god conceived of their national hopes as realized in the

future, the Ionians, also under the dominion of foreign races, emancipated themselves from State and from Church alike. . . . Through the observation that eternal and ascertainable laws hold sway in the movement of the heavenly bodies, the Ionians arrived at the revelation that all life is a unity, and is permeated not by chance or caprice, but by law and reason, *logos*. As a postulate of intellect—we had better perhaps say, of belief—they recognized that these laws must be knowable by the human reason, and they did their best to know them. That led to natural science, and opened the way through mathematics to logic. But there was no way leading from there to history, neither from Heraclitus nor from Parmenides nor yet from Pythagoras. Then the Athenians created the free state. While this held up its head, while they lived history and made history, the ground was prepared for men who wrote history. . . . But the Athenian empire collapsed; the democracy showed itself incapable of founding the national state; and on the ruins there arose that phantom growth of rhetoric and sophistry which renounced the search after truth and honesty, and which brought to shipwreck first the learning and then the whole civilization of antiquity. . . .

Greek historical writing, from the Ionians onward, had a much wider range than that to which Thucydides the Athenian statesman wished to confine it. It embraced what we call romance and the Novel. It is just in this that History shows herself the successor of the Epos. I have no doubt that she was also affected by a very strong influence from the literatures of the East, for there we find exactly the same 'Novels', and there also they are hung upon the historical tradition, or at least upon famous historical persons. Even in the stories of the Egyptians that is the case; and it remains so in the *Thousand and One Nights*. . . . We are pedants if we treat as history the story of the first Messenian war; and it is just the same with Tarquinius Superbus and Lucretia, with Coriolanus and Virginia. But these stories do not cease to be beautiful because they are fiction. It is only necessary to put each element in its proper place, and to recognize that historical romance played no small part in Greek literature. . . . The Love-story, which we place quite far from history and near to poetry, among the Greeks belonged definitely to the former, even though the same material may have been treated in Epic or Elegiac form. . . . The Love-story itself springs from the New Comedy. . . .

RECENT BOOKS

The Unity of the Latin Subjunctive: a Quest. By E. A. Sonnenschein. London: John Murray (1910). Pp. 60.

Four Plays of Menander. By Edward Capps. Boston and New York: Ginn and Co. (1910). Pp. x + 320.

Dead Language and Dead Languages. By J. P. Postgate. London: John Murray. Pp. 32.

Interpretations of Horace. By William Medley. Oxford University Press. Pp. xv + 169. \$3.00.

In Mr. Bradley's article in the first number of the current volume an unhappy error crept into the title. Mr. Bradley was proposing *A Programme of Reform*, a far less daring essay than that which the perversity of the types ascribed to him.

¹ This system is not yet published by Dr. A. J. Evans himself, but it is given in *Crete the Forerunner of Greece*, by C. H. and H. R. Hawes, as communicated by Dr. Evans to the writers by letter.